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BACKGROUND INFORMATION

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I

THE SITUATION IN CHINA

(from a correspondent)

(Note: This report refers to the situation as it appeared several months ago)

General Conditions:

The over shadowing feature in the general news from China is the launching of a vast Anti-corruption Campaign. When the People's Republic was first established many observers pointed out that the new regime had eliminated graft and corruption and had set up a government of an exceptionally high character. However, old ways die hard and apparently not only merchants and manufacturers but also highly placed party members bided their time to resume old practices. During the past year several cases of large scale corruption or maladministration were uncovered in high places. The government decided the time had come for a thorough house-cleaning. The large cities became the chief arenas for the new struggle. The first phase of the clean-up was directed against party members and officials and was called the 3-Anti Movement (Anti-corruption, Anti-waste, Anti-bureaucracy). When this campaign had been well launched another was begun. This is called the 5-Anti movement (Anti-bribery, Anti-tax-evasion, Anti-cheating, Anti-theft-of-state-property, Anti-theft-of-state-economic-information) and is directed primarily against the merchant class. Shanghai became a special objective in this campaign and its merchant class was called a "tumour" which would have to be cut out. Trade came practically to a standstill throughout the country and no one could move from one place to another without special permits. In the first stage of the campaign numerous devices were employed to obtain confessions from the guilty. In this connection employees of business houses as well as business rivals were especially useful in forcing confessions. In Shanghai and in Canton confessions were said to have run into the tens of thousands. Apparently, no important merchant was allowed to escape the necessity of making a confession and as each one knew that all sorts of accusations, true and false, were being made against him it was wise to make a confession. Merchants have become utterly terrorised and are said "to sit in their shops like blocks of wood waiting for their turn to come". Newspaper reports allege the uncovering of vast amounts of graft. Large grafters are referred to as "big tigers" and lesser grafters as "small tigers". The pressure upon merchants and others who have been accused has become so severe and the hope of a successful solution of personal difficulties so remote that many see no way out except by suicide.

It is quite clear that the "clean up" movements have not been a sudden inspiration of the authorities. There is evidence to show that the plan was laid down sometime ago. The rapid growth in the membership of the communist party may have tended to a weakness which is now being overcome by purging those who have not stood the test of its discipline. In 1945 the party numbered approximately one million members, in 1949 three million, in 1950 five million and in 1951 six million. These figures reveal that a very large percentage of party members are new-comers.

While the 3-Anti and 5-Anti Movements have captured the headlines the government has gone steadily forward with its land reform programme. Large numbers of the intelligentsia were mobilised to help with this campaign but probably more for their experience than the value they could be to the administration of land reform. A number of leading men have written of their experiences in living and working close beside the peasants of the country and confessions have been made by some

of these men showing how remote their thinking and life has been from the peasants who constitute the majority of the people. One Peking professor who was accustomed to the ease and comfort of living on a university campus found it a revealing experience to use "the same washing basin for washing our feet, for feeding the pigs, and for bringing the soup at meal time".

There are conflicting reports in regard to the out-break of epidemics. The concentrated attack upon the United States on charge of germ warfare may have its origin in the desire to create a smoke screen to conceal failure in the field of epidemic prevention in China and among the soldiers in North Korea. The virulent and long-sustained propaganda campaign doubtless has engendered much hatred against the West and the U.S. in particular.

The authorities are meeting the natural inertia of the people in instituting the Marriage Law reform. In this connection the government finds a tendency on the part of many of its subordinate officials to go slowly. There is a belief among rural people that the communist power is only temporary and the present conditions would eventually change just as the weather changes from time to time. Hence some communist cadres have been reported as being reluctant to act against landlords and against those failing to observe the new Marriage Law for fear of retaliation in case the "weather changes".

After the Anti-corruption Campaign probably the next nation-wide undertaking will be a thought reform movement designed to make all Chinese intellectuals good pupils of Mao Tse-tung. Previous efforts to correct thinking and wash out poisonous ideas will be completely eclipsed by the prospective new drive for ideological reform. The book published by Mr. Edward Hunter under the title "Brain Washing in Red China" gives a generally fair idea of previous efforts along this line. The next step will doubtless be much more thorough-going and systematically organised. So far the authorities have bided their time and have permitted many allegedly wrong ideas to persist. One of these is the contention of scientists and students that their specialised work is of such importance to the state that they should concentrate upon it and not spend time in political meetings and political reading courses. A mechanics student is quoted as saying, "We are going to be the essential technicians to work for national reconstruction. Anything that handicaps our normal learning will be harming the reconstruction programme". Refuting all the reasons raised by the students the communist paper said, "Whenever the nation wants you to serve any purpose necessary, there is no choice but obedience. That is the only principle to be followed. Any personal reasons can be nothing other than a pretext of individualism".

The ideological reform study movement among professors of universities is already underway in several of the larger university centers. Among the wrong mind-sets that must be destroyed among teachers are said to be the following: (1) preserving of reactionary capitalistic thoughts; (2) showing a strong individualism and objectivism in mind and attitude; (3) a tendency towards a dogmatism which isolates theory from practice.

News of the Churches and Institutions

An attempt to assess what is happening in the churches is handicapped by reason of a dearth of news. Whatever is reported therefore is of a sketchy nature and cannot be a dependable basis for generalization.

It has been reported that the attendance in the city churches is keeping up fairly well. The ministers are standing by their churches faithfully although the financial struggle is most difficult. Many pastors are engaging in side-line activities to eke out their livilihood. Keeping cows and selling milk, growing vegetables, carpentering, tailoring and rearing-rabbits are mentioned as some of the means by which pastors are supplementing the support of their congregations. Indications are that churches are contributing more than in the past but this scarcely makes up for the increased costs and the cutting off of all mission aid.

Indoctrination goes on without interruption. Church workers must give at least three periods per-week of 4 hours each to political studies. Many are becoming much irked by the necessity of such studies but there is no way of escape from it.

Apparently, the government is placing no special restrictions upon the churches other than those placed upon other organisations. So long as the churches fulfil the requirements of the government to take part in the various kinds of patriotic activities, a relatively tolerant attitude prevails.

Since the churches are expected to take part in so many activities of a political nature they are definitely weakened and hindered in doing their primary work. For example preachers are expected to lead their congregations in taking part in the "Oppose-America, Aid-Korea Movement", the campaign to purchase planes and bombs, and the Peace Movement and as well as formulating protests against America's alleged bacteriological warfare. Furthermore, churches are expected to have accusation and self-confession meetings. If the accusations and confessions are not satisfactory to the authorities, then the leaders of the church will be called "problem persons". Problem persons are not allowed to preach until they have met the requirements of satisfactory accusations or confessions. In some places there are officials whose duty is to discuss the contents of every sermon before it is preached. In isolated cases the authorities have taken over churches for government use. In some cities the church organisations are negotiating with the authorities for the possession of church and mission properties which can be used in connection with the self-support of the church. Up-to-date many of the arrangements made between missions and church organisations before the withdrawal of missionaries have been allowed to stand.

The churches throughout the country have felt the need of a central organisation in order to present a united front to the government. Some of the denominations which formerly refused to have anything to do with the National Christian Council have taken membership in the Council since the "liberation". Unfortunately, there are indications that the new general church organisations are in the hands of the "progressively minded" leaders who have been very active since the historic conferences in Peking when they took the initiative in leading the churches in the direction desired by the government. Indeed some of the denominations in China have been reorganised for the avowed purpose of cooperating with the government as closely as possible. The 3-Self Movement (Self-support, Self-government and Self-propagation) has been underway for more than a year under government's stimulus. Many churches have gone on record as supporting the 3-Anti and 5-Anti Movements. Much scripture has been quoted in support of the churches' participation in the programmes of the government. Reports from some areas indicate that young folks are conspicuous by their absence in church congregations. Meetings for indoctrination continue to conflict with church-going and sabbath observance. However, a conference in Peking was organised and entirely run by a younger group of Chinese folk, about 150 to 200 probably in number. For 13 days these people sat, lived and ate their meals in the church and slept there too, spending the whole time in the study of the Epistle to the Romans. They divided up into

four groups to facilitate group work, but later came together in one group to discuss their findings and results. Midday was spent as a special time for prayer and praise, but the remainder of the day was given over to Bible study. These people had brought along their own food, coal and other supplies, bedding, etc. so they were an independent unit. Those who saw them at their studies, were impressed by the simplicity and the obvious happiness of the group.

Christian institutions continue to face heavy attack. The output of the Christian Literature Society has now been purged by the elimination of more than 80% of the books. Hence there is little business carried on. The General Secretary and Business Manager have been subject to accusations by persons within the organisation. The YMCAs and YWCAs have pretty generally lost their identity as Christian organisations engaged in work for the young. In one city their buildings have been taken over as offices of the Society for Sino-Russian Friendship. The students of some theological colleges have been drafted into land-reform teams. In one of the principal seminaries the students divide their time equally between classroom studies and manual labour. Most of the middle schools have passed under new controls and new administrative officers are being installed.

The thirteen Christian universities are rapidly losing their identity not only by the loss of their names but by the breaking up of their constituent departments and their amalgamation with other institutions. Lingnan University will soon cease to be called Lingnan and there will be only one university in South China. Lingnan's campus will accommodate the Arts faculty of the consolidated government university. In Peking the government has manipulated the affairs of the Christian institutions so as to give sufficient justification for breaking them up. One of the objectives of combining the departments of the Christian colleges with other institutions is to insure against these institutions ever being reorganised along the original lines. Yenching has come under the heaviest attack. Foreign members of the staff, past and present beginning with Dr. Stuart, have been subjected to harsh accusations. The university has been called the chiefcentre of American political, economic, and military espionage. Statements of several professors have been recalled and given twisted interpretations for the purpose of discounting all they have done. Over 100 teachers in the institution have bared their lives in confessions and Yenching has been denounced by these teachers as a place which "has disseminated its poison into our brains as they (Americans) have spread germs". The entire faculty has been "dipped into the water for a bath" and Yenta has now been thoroughly washed of the humiliation of the past 30 years". On March 20th news reports stated that Yenta had ceased to be, and its departments had been amalgamated with other institutions.

Most of the hospitals from which we have received reports announced that the old names are gone and each hospital is called a "People's Hospital". Some continue to be open to the general public. Others have become military hospitals. Two large mission hospitals in one city are to become airforce hospitals.

In connection with the 3-Anti and 5-Anti Movements practically everyone who has had occasion to handle funds in Christian institutions, particularly in schools and hospitals, has come under scrutiny. The grim aspect of this is that once a person has been accused he must confess to something on the theory that everybody has faults and no one can masquerade as innocent. Some victims have tried to allay suspicion by the confession of some minor indiscretion as perhaps taking a small item from the shelves of the hospital dispensary without accounting for it, or receiving a gift from someone who wished to expedite a matter of personal concern.

Once these minor faults have been admitted they are made the basis for developing charges of callous unconcern for the People's interest. Mass trials are held and conviction follows with heavy penalties. Many hospital superintendents and accountants and secretaries and treasurers of schools when accused have found it impossible to clear themselves since those who are accused are not permitted to make a defense! So there have been many suicides amongst those people who have handled funds in Christian institutions. In some cases persons who have had no direct connection with the distribution of supplies are held responsible for alleged discrepancies caused by others and long prison terms or even execution await these innocent victims. The pall of fear continues to hang heavy over the people in the land.

Cases continue to be reported of Christian leaders who have dared to proclaim their convictions as followers of their divine Master with the sure knowledge that their end will be imprisonment or death. The trial of one such man continued over a period of 2/3 weeks thus giving this man abundant opportunity to contemplate what his end would likely be. He met the charges at the first trial by preaching a sermon instead of making a confession as expected and he was sent to prison. When he was brought out for final trial, he again refused either to recant or to confess guilt of charges of which he was innocent. Back he went to prison. A young minister in another place and the former principal of a girl's school both of whom expressed themselves courageously have been condemned to hard labour for life. One has been seen working on the highways, the other is said to be engaged in weaving in her prison environment.

A Chinese Christian friend who has had a very wise acquaintance with the churches in China has made the following observations in regard to the actions of church leaders within the People's Republic:

> "One must not, judge the Chinese Christian leaders in China too harshly. They have been put on the spot and find themselves in an impossible situation. When the 'liberation' took place, the liberal elements of the Church blessed the new regime for the following reasons: (1) the new regime proved to be so much better than the old one;(2) so much of its programme coincides with the social principles of Christianity; (3) it was hoped that by working with the new regime, the Christian forces might serve as a moderating influence upon radical communism; (4) the new regime promised at the outset the freedom of religious belief to all people and seemed to have followed a moderate policy for quite a while. It was not until China's intervention in the Korean War that things began to be tightened up. The Christian leaders had gone too far with the new regime, and as one step leads to another, they were completely swept off their feet. They were required to denounce their past connections with foreign missions and missionaries, to refuse further intercourse with them, to accuse their most intimate Christian colleagues and friends, both Chinese and foreign, and to participate actively in the 'Resist-America, Aid-Korea Movement'. They had done all this because of expediency, because of the thought that it might preserve the Church under an atheist regime, and because of the cleverness of the communist authorities in basing their case on political and not on religious grounds".

It is reported that all Christian organisations and the churches have to report in detail every 6 months upon the work that has been accomplished. For this reason such Christian publications as still continue in existence contain a great deal of material from the secular papers. Since whatever they print will be subjected to scrutiny they dare print little except that which they are sure will meet the approval of the authorities. What has been in the secular press is safe to re-print because it has all been authorised. In the dailies from all parts of China one will find the same news, the same viewpoints, the same terminology and the same conclusions.

(Church magazines published in China are apparently now no longer allowed to leave the country. Tien Feng stopped coming with the May 17th issue. The Christian Farmer, has recently sent a note to its Hongkong subscribers, saying, "The Farmer is a publication prepared for the interior of China. It is not convenient to send it to Hongkong or similar communities. We ought to refund the unused portion of your subscription price, but that would involve foreign remittances. Therefore we ask you fellow-Christians to donate the balance of this subscription to The Farmer. In the future when postal conditions permit, the sending out of periodicals, we shall continue your subscription. Peace to you.)

II

INFORMATION CONCERNING THE ACCUSATION AGAINST DR. T.C. CHAO

(Most of our readers will have heard that Dr. T.C.Chao has been officially dismissed from his position as Dean of the Yenching School of Religion and has been placed under house arrest. The following report from the June 1952 issue of Hsieh Chin, monthly magazine of the National Christian Council of China, gives information about the accusations which have been made against Dr. Chao.)

During the "three-anti" Movement the whole body of students, staff and workmen of Yenching University and Yenching School of Religion uncovered the crimes of American imperialism in utilising Yenching to promote its cultural invasion of China. Amongst the reports was one about T.C. Chao, professor of religion, carrying out American imperialism's aggressive policies under the cloak of religion. He continuously carried on activities against the People. This brought forth hot discussion and revelations. People for the first time began to realise that T.C.Chao listened to America like a slave. After liberation he tried to preserve American systems and rules. He also took a passive attitude towards the "Three-self Reform" Movement. This stirred up the whole group to great dissatisfaction with him so that they requested him to give them a thorough and clear statement concerning himself.

But when T.C. Chao made his first self-criticism his attitude was completely dishonest. He merely gave empty talk about how American imperialism had harmed him and would not expose to the group these facts which they already knew. On one hand he acknowledged that he had listened to what the American imperialists told him and on the other hand he tried to justify himself. He still considered himself to be a leftist theologian and sympathetic with the revolution.

After the whole body had discussed his self-criticism paper they were unusually displeased and cited facts to show plainly that he was collaborating with the American imperialists. He had been vice-chairman of the World Council of Churches and during the Chiang regime he received provisions from them and shamelessly praised bandit Chiang. He preached about the "World Council of Churches" and the "principle of love" and "Christians have two standpoints" and all such poisonous stuff. By doing so he caused churches to insult the five-starred flag and to take a passive attitude toward the Oppose-America Aid-Korea Movement and did not contribute to it nor to the patriotic campaign. So the whole body again asked Chao to make another "self-criticism" on his relations with the imperialists and his crimes against the People.

Under pressure from the whole group Chao made another criticism on March 6th but fundamentally his attitude was no different from the first. That fully revealed his stubbornness.

The Yenching Austerity and Censoring Committee held a big meeting on March 10. They discussed and criticised T.C. Chao's "self-criticism" and accusation on the crimes of American imperialsim in its cultural invasion of China under the cloak of religion. They specially discussed the crimes of T.C. Chao before and after liberation in using religion to organise and spread poisonous elements to destroy the New China. He was a leading responsible officer in the world's reactionary religious body. He himself was a People's Political Consultative Conference (Supreme Soviet of Communist China) delegate and he outwardly obeyed government orders but privately disobeyed them. He opposed and attempted to break the "Three-self" Reform Movement. He willingly made friends with the enemies. He has connections with the Imperialists Hall (Anglican Bishop Ronald Hall of Hongkong), Van Dusen, Frank Price and with the American imperialist agent William Fenn (Executive Secretary of the United Board for Christian Colleges in China) organised a "Planning for the Future" Committee. He tried to shield the fugitive head of the special secret police, Liang Shih Hwang, and the reactionary deeds of the corrupt one in the Church, Quentin Hwang (Chinese Anglican Bishop of Yunnan, long imprisoned by the Communists, now in the U.S.A. -- subsequently excommunicated by the Chinese Anglican Church). Therefore he cannot be forgiven. The Austerity and Censoring Committee accepted the request of the whole group and had him dismissed and asked him to ponder his crimes. On March 17th, Ling Hsien-yang (Timothy Lin), Bishop of the North China Diocese of the Chinese Anglican Church, also publicly announced (1) that T.C. Chao was dismissed from the position of President; (2) that they had taken away all his offices in the North China Diocese; (3) that they request the House of Bishops to take away his Holy Orders.

III.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL WORK IN EASTERN EUROPE

(The social welfare work of the churches has been severely curtailed in various countries of Eastern Europe due partly to the different conceptions of the place and the purpose of social work in Communist thought and partly to the communist distrust of all voluntary social institutions. The situation of Christian social work in Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia is described in the following reports.)

1. Christianity and Social Work in Czechoslovakia:

As in other Eastern European countries the official basis for the conception of man and society in Czechoslovakia today is Marx-Leninism.

Since 1948 there has been a radical change in social conditions and a renewal of social work. The working class has taken control of all institutions. Capitalism in the old sense of the word, has disappeared, with the nationalisation of industry, trade and banking. The State looks after the individual as a member of society, or as a member of a group, usually a working group. Social work is therefore carried on mainly in connection with these groups. The national income is derived mainly from the production of the nationalised industries (not from direct taxation), and "social welfare" (so-called) occupies the first place in state expenditure.

Some examples of this social welfare work are as follows: about 89% of the citizens today receive free medical treatment, including medicines and hospital and sanatorium expenses from the State. Expectant mothers receive special assistance including a sum of money to purchase clothes for the baby, ration cards which entitle them to extra milk, butter, etc. Families with children receive special money allowances and taxation reliefs. A large number of children's homes are also being built where children spend the day, while their mothers are at work. Owing to the housing shortage, the law concerning housing has been reformed; the authorities calculate one room per person, but scientific workers are entitled to a study room in addition. In the factories adequate wash-rooms and rest-rooms are provided. In all factories the workers can buy their meals at modest charges, All this must be regarded as a real achievement.

In order to carry out the colossal task of social change, a large number of trained persons are needed. Far more people than before are applying for medical treatment, medicines and hospital care. The crowd awaiting in the doctors' waiting-room is a constant strain on the doctors. In social welfare work, valuable results are being obtained through the use of modern psychological and sociological methods.

From the Christian standpoint the problem is that of the individual's relation to the community, and vice versa. Formerly interest was centred upon the individual without regard to the community; today the interests of the community are considered more important. As the state economy is interested first and foremost in industry, the problem involves the socialist conception of life and the problem of personality in the technical age. The question is how and to what extent the personality (in the Christian sense of the word) can be developed and formed in the modern technical world. (Socialism means the extension of technics even into the sphere of community-life). The doctrine of Marx-Leninism emphasises the possibility of doing this.

What is the Church in Czechoslovakia to do in view of this entirely new conception of the aims and methods of social work?

The Church still has to fulfil the task imposed on it by God: it must serve people, because it loves them. But on the other hand the Church today does not possess unlimited freedom to carry out social service without regard to the already-existing arrangements made by the state. For example, the Church cannot construct, nor maintain, social institutions without permission from the authorities concerned; in this sphere the Church is under the supervision of the government. The work of the Church must be fitted in to the general plan of social welfare. The Church must therefore choose those branches of social service where its work will be regarded as a supplement to the existing state welfare scheme, and not compete with it.

As all hospitals and sanatoria are now nationalised, the Order of Deaconesses was dissolved. The deaconesses nurse in the state hospitals or else work for the parish. The orphanages and children's homes run by the Church are being liquidated. The buildings will be used as homes for retired pastors. As it will take many years to overcome the housing shortage, the Church homes for old people will certainly be allowed to continue for some years.

The welfare work of the Church in Czechoslovakia today therefore consists mainly in homes for old or lonely people. The applications for admission to these homes are continually growing. The United Brethren have therefore extended this work recently. By alterations to the houses, the number of places available will be almost doubled. The extension of these homes is warmly welcomed by the church-members and the cost is covered by church collections with a subsidy from the state.

The question arises, what will the Church do when social conditions have improved so much, that its cooperation is no longer needed? Will the social work of the Church cease to exist?

In this case the Church must revert to the methods of the Early Christians; there will always be plenty of opportunities for help on the parish level. In addition to material distress (illness, loneliness, help to children) moral help is always needed in cases of moral need which have social consequences, and these must be dealt with by the Church. The social service of the Church is based on the idea, that every one is made in God's image, and can become a child of God through the saving intervention of Jesus Christ. Suffering (such as illness) must also be regarded in the light of the Gospel, and the Church must teach people to see it in that light. In many spheres of social life the Union of Brethren were pioneers in the 16th century. The Church in Czechoslovakia today cannot undertake pioneer work comparable with its achievements in the past. As stated above, it is confined to service in the state institutions and to cooperation with them.

Voluntary workers take an active share in the social activities of the churches and Christian organisations. The work in the local churches is mostly done by women; that in the central organisations mostly by men with experience in planning and practical organisation. In addition many members of the Church take a lively interest in general welfare work, such as that of the Red Cross.

At the present time social work within the Church can only be carried on in parishes which form a real community. It is bound up with pastoral care, which is however not the duty of the Pastor alone but of every member of the Church

(this being the conception of the original Brethren). Personal friendship with the brethren and sisters gives insight into the difficulties which beset the other members of the Church. Without this, the Church will never understand what its duty is. It must inform the social workers where help is needed. Such help can only be given through cooperation. Today this usually takes the form of personal help rather than that of money. Money seldom enters into it; but it is not so easy to give active, personal help because people all have to work much harder than previously. (For instance, in cases of illness help is needed in the home. This assistance can only be given through the self-sacrifice of other members of the Church, who are busy themselves. It is the same in other cases).

The Church must take part in all social reforms which are in accordance with God's commandment. Above all, the Church must encourage public opinion to remove social evils - not merely by talking. The Church has a duty to help the State through active cooperation. The improvement of the material conditions of life is a Christian duty. If social reform today is directed exclusively to this end, that is due to the state's view of life. In such cases the Church must see a difficult, but important, opportunity of showing the basis and the methods of the Gospel, and must regard its work as a quiet form of evangelism. This work must always be a witness of its faith, which is seen and experienced, even if nothing is said in words.

2. Christianity and Social Work in the Eastern Zone of Germany

General Situation

The German Democratic Republic is a Socialist community conditioned by a materialist philosophy. The State seeks as a matter of principle to control all social work, either by controlling basic social policy, or by controlling all social and welfare work done by other organisations, including the churches, and to see that this is carried out in accordance with its own ideas. So long as State measures remain inadequate for remedying all distress, the government still permits the activity of volunatry social work organisations which are maintained by voluntarily-contributed funds. In such organisations (e.g. "Volkssolidarität) church bodies are also permitted to participate. But their participation is gradually becoming more and more restricted by the state as it becomes evident that the relief of such organisations is often given to help those in need and undergoing political persecution in the German Democratic Republic.

Thus far, the greater part of the social organisations set up by the Church, particularly the institutions of the Inner Mission, and the diaconal and educational work run by the Church have remained in existence but physical relief work is being narrowed down more and more: by exclusions of deaconesses from hospitals, restrictions on church training of nurses, by banning donations from abroad for Hilfswerk, etc.) On the other hand, no difficulties have yet been placed on the effort to extend diaconal activities in the local churches, in order to give supplementary help to those in need by using voluntary gifts and church workers. Collections for this purpose in the church services are not subject to any restrictions, and house-to-house collections can also be arranged, though this sometimes needs State permission. It depends, therefore, on the vigour and activity of the local churches to what extent such charitable work supplementing the State's social policy can be organised on an increasing scale.

As a result of the ideological conflict, the cooperation by Christians in State and community social institutions, as in school and other educational work, comes up against many difficulties, though these are of course to a great extent conditioned by the personal attitudes of individuals involved on both sides. These ideological issues are perhaps the most serious problems confronting Christians in the domain of social work. Nevertheless, even today there is still a chance for Christian people to make their influence felt as officials, and, especially, as voluntary workers in the social work field. To find able Christians, to get them to agree to do such work, and to give them spiritual support in their activity, is at the present time one of the most important tasks of the Christian Church in the sphere of social work.

Assumption of Social Work

So far as State social work is concerned, man is merely the principal means of increasing production: to equip him and keep him going for this, the highest aim in social life, is the task of social work in all its branches. Christian social work, on the other hand, is organised with the aim of serving man as an individual person before God and as a member of the human community, and to care for him as such wherever he needs it.

As a result of these divergencies of viewpoint joint work by public and private (particularly church) welfare organisations is becoming rarer and rarer. The distinguishing feature of public welfare work is that it subordinates the relief of individual distress to general, comprehensive relief measures, and to overall social policy. There has been an extraordinary extension of social insurance, which now includes the vast majority of the population. A noteworthy fact is the abolition of the system of family welfare followed hitherto, which means more or less the dropping of the individual welfare method. The place of family welfare has been taken by "special welfare", with its unofficial Social and Youth Commissions. This entails at the same time a diminution in the numbers of skilled welfare workers. The case work method is not found in the present system. Psychological suitability tests in vocational welfare work have been dropped.

Public welfare work is, in many respects, concentrating more and more in the factories which have to look after their employees. Hence there is the danger that all those who are not now, or never were, employed in big enterprises of this kind may find themselves inadequately cared for.

Even in social work outside such businesses, church social work is purposely narrowed down by the introduction of public services. In particular, the Church is being systematically forced out of all youth and educational work. All that is possible now is for it to defend its present positions.

The Church's task previously has been to help the individual man in his particular needs, especially to help in its pastoral capacity in such fields as prison welfare, marriage counselling and hospital work. But even there it has a very difficult time, since there too the State seeks to obtain a monopoly.

Church charitable work can only go on within such limits as the State still allows it. For example in child welfare: in all probability the Church will be able at most to carry on the care of abnormal children. Wherever there are Church institutions, they are experiencing much difficulty in maintaining themselves. The extension of State work in this field is being forced ahead.

In child welfare in particular, it is becoming rarer and rarer for the State to delegate its duties to church charitable associations. A general increase is observable in the number of children's homes and kindergartens attached to factories or to enterprises either in towns or in the country. State subsidies for education in Christian children's homes are frequently not paid. Inroads have been made by the ordinance of 1951 concerning the education given in such homes, under which even work in Christian homes is to be supervised from the point of view of:

(a) ensuring democratic teaching;
(b) directing and supervising paedagogical work;
(c) training teachers;
(d) training teachers at advanced stages;
(e) selecting, confirming and employing teachers.

Pioneer work in the social field is always dependent on the existence of persons possessing special charismata: where these are available, they have opportunities of making their influence felt even today. This has been particularly evident in the care of the numerous refugees in recent years. In this domain, outstandingly fine work has been done by the Hilfswerk of the Thuringian Church. In that province, a considerable number of work centres have been established, such as carpenters' shops, shoemakers' shops, nursery-gardens, fancy goods factories, etc., and there and elsewhere old people's homes have been started.

In a very large number of parishes there are groups of parish helpers, each caring regularly for a small sub-district. For the further extension of the parish diaconate, working committees for Hilfswerk activities and for diaconal work in the parish itself are established, which are of value to the pastor in the support of indigent and needy parishioners.

Problems of Christians in public social work organisations

Where there are Christians still employed in public welfare agencies they are permanently faced with moral problems arising from the fact that the State has prescribed a different philosophy, not to say a different religion in which all those in Government service "must be trained". This training, in which individual people are obliged to play not merely a passive but very often an active part, is especially productive of conflicts of conscience. These are made still more severe by the fact that social workers in the public service are under explicit obligation to do all they can in conversation with those they help in the course of their welfare work to win people over to the official philosophy. It is felt, however, that sincere Christians should, for the sake of the people their social work deals with, nevertheless continue in public welfare work as long as is possible. Christian social workers seek to bear witness to their Christian faith simply by their attitude. The people they care for realise without the need for words what it is that causes them to work in this way.

The Christian social workers is constantly faced with conflicts of conscience. For example he must select, in accordance with the new regulations concerning convalescent welfare under the social insurance scheme, those to be sent away for a cure. In such cases the economic importance of the work the patient is doing is to be the deciding factor, and not the degree of urgency

in the help required, in and for itself. There is also the question of complying with state pressure to induce mothers of families to go to work, when as Christians they believe mothers should as far as possible stay with their children. Problems are also created by the ruling that the children of women living alone can only be housed in State children's homes if they are to be brought up at the expense of the State (Law for the protection of mothers and children, para 3). Religious instruction is not given in such institutions. Christian social workers have therefore to seek for Christian people to be the guardians of such children.

Efforts are made on the part of the Christian authorities to help such social workers both materially and spiritually. First and foremost there are the meetings of the Evangelical Academies, which organise special conferences for professional social workers, held as far as possible in different places each time. In addition, there is a working association of those employed in church social work, whose meetings are attended by public social workers as visitors since only very loosely organised associations are allowed - (it is impossible to belong to any professional organisation outside the FDGB (Free German Trade Union Federation)). The FDGB only trains the members of its unions in accordance with the prevailing philosophy and with party politics.

The Responsibility of the Church for Social Reform

The Church is keenly conscious of its responsibility in regard to the social circumstances which prevail, and efforts are continually being made, particularly by the governing bodies of the churches, to redress existing distress and abuses by direct personal representations to the competent state offices. The leaders of the churches formulate their opinion concerning the social questions of the day - land reform, marriage, female labour, education - and draw attention to their views, as far as is at all possible, in the Press.

IV.

THE CHURCH AND THE REFUGEE SITUATION IN WEST BERLIN
(early June 1952)

(The following is a report on the problem of refugees in West Berlin and the efforts of the German Evangelical Relief Agency (Hilfswerk) to deal with their needs.)

Some three months ago the Berlin main office of Evangelisches Hilfswerk issued a detailed survey of the refugee problem in Berlin. This came out at a moment of transition, with the Berlin refugee ordinance still in force but with the new Federal emergency-admission ordinance already showing its first effects. Various new decrees have since been promulgated with a view to dealing with the problem.

Thus people from the Eastern Zone and the Eastern Sector who were staying in West Berlin before February 1, 1952, i.e. before the Federal emergency-admission law came into force, are compelled to register with the police up to August 1, 1952, a measure intended to catch all those illegally present in

West Berlin. Information is not yet available as to what practical results have so far been achieved by this regulation. The City Councillor for Social Affairs, however, has mentioned the figure of 100,000 refugees as present but not not registered with the Refugee Office. This does not, of course, include the whole group of "illegals" as given by the Prefect of Police.

Particularly noteworthy is the setting-up of an advisory centre before the admission procedure is begun at all. If the slight recession in the influx of refugees during the last month or two can be attributed to this factor, it may be taken as indicative of the value of such consultation as recommended in the report of the Berlin main office of Hilfswerk.

In order to deal with the applications for admission from over 14,000 refugees who were turned down under the Berlin refugee ordinance, five new commissions are to be set up to help these people obtain a verdict as quickly as possible. Practical experience has, however, shown that only a very small number of refugees can count on a change of verdict. Thus they finally reach a state of complete hopelessness, after meeting with an adverse decision from the hardship tribunal also.

What a heavy responsibility this problem entails for the Protestant Church is shown by the figure:

March 1952, out of 4,468 refugees, 3,623 Protestants;
April 1952, out of 4,118 refugees, 3,227 Protestants.

To illutstrate the human problems behind these figures, here are some details concerning a few of those who rightly or wrongly sought refuge in West Berlin.

Flight on the spur of the moment

One cold evening in January, Frau P. arrived exhausted in West Berlin with her three children. She came from Magdeburg, seventy miles away, and had covered the whole distance on foot. Her husband drank, and treated her so badly that in complete distraction she acted in the heat of the moment. After a long consultation with Church social workers she agreed to go back to Magdeburg. The station mission took the woman and her three children for the night. She was given supper and breakfast (funds from the Swiss Protestant Relief Organisation and from Lutheran World Relief). We managed to get her return fare to Magdeburg throug the municipal welfare service for the homeless.

Domestic troubles

O. was a Post Office clerk, but was discharged because male labour is as far as possible being released for other employment in the economy of the Eastern Zone. He took this as an occasion to set out for West Berlin. Meantime, a divorce suit desired and instituted by his wife was in progress. The verdict was delivered to him in Berlin. It stated that he told his wife that she was to blame for Germany losing the war, she was the greatest traitor to her country that ever was, she supported the anti-German forces, and she ought to go to her Communist Bolshevik friends. The East German court thereupon concluded that "from these words uttered by the accused it is to be assumed that he is unable fully to understand or fall in with our modern democratic development."

On these "proven" grounds, the court decided that no further conjugal association could be expected. However, O. is not recognised in West Berlin as a political refugee, because even in the Eastern Zone hard words of this nature in a divorce case are not followed by political persecution. On the other hand, he dare not go back, because the things he has said in West Berlin have been officially noted, and he is likely to be regarded as a "saboteur", in the East German interpretation of the term. His letters home are all opened by the East German censor. The first thing the authorities did in West Berlin was to assign him to a camp, as a non-recognised refugee without permission to work. It has been possible to help him by finding useful voluntary work for him. Life may thus acquire some meaning for him again.

Offenders escaping from the law

Frau S. born in 1906, a refugee once already from East Prussia, is a widow with five children. The two eldest sons are old enough to work: the first is in the People's Police, and the second used to be, but has now fled to the West. The daughter, Christel, aged 17, is work-shy, and in any case physically ill all the time as a result of undernourishment; at present it is impossible to get her to do regular work. The two youngest children give the impression of being difficult and undisciplined. The mother, being able-bodied, receives no support for herself at all, only an orphans' pension for the two youngest, on which she lives with the three children. Since she used to live near West Berlin, she went there regularly to sell wood and so on, and lived on what she earned in this way. The wood she had stolen in the forest. When she was caught, and was in danger of being sentenced for theft, she went to West Berlin with her children and registered as a refugee. Though it was clear that she had no political reasons for taking refuge there, nobody had the heart to send her back to the Zone. But it was a long time before she and the children received enough help for them not to be on the verge of sub-human neglect.

Ex-internees fear further reprisals

Herr A. was arrested by the GPU after the collapse in 1945, and sent to the concentration-camp of Mühlberg-an-der-Elbe, whence he was removed in 1946 to Russia. On December 21, 1949, he was released, after contracting dysentery and severe tuberculosis requiring eighteen months in a sanatorium. Anxious lest he be subjected to further reprisals, he did not go home, but fled to West Berlin, and was recognised in 1951 as a political refugee. Through money which came from donations by the Missouri Synod and the Danish Refugee Relief Organisation he has received a four week stay in a repatriates' home.

Workers from the uranium mines

B.G. of East Berlin, signed a contract to work in the uranium mines in Aue, after being talked into it by friends in the Free German Youth Movement, although he was under age (17) and had not his father's consent. But he could only stand the pace for six weeks. After that he fled to West Berlin. He was sent to Bethel where he is working as a gardener in a church institution.

Expellees react particularly to political pressure

Herr S. fled, with his wife and two children, from Stralsund to West Berlin during the confirmation of his daughter in order to elude political arrest. He

was married in Stettin in 1936, and after being bombed out in 1944 moved to Pomerania. In 1945 the family fled to Stralsund, but during the summer moved back to R. As a soldier, Herr S. was taken prisoner by the Americans, but was then handed over to the Red Army. Being severely disabled, he was released in September 1945.. In Stralsund he found that his family had gone back to R. (now Polish-ruled). He lived there for two years, but in 1947 left R. clandestinely, and subsequently managed to build up a small livelihood again in Stralsund as a technical tradesman. When he left for West Berlin he had to abandon everything he possessed once more.

Out of funds from Church World Service he has received gifts of clothing for the family. The Church relief agency (Hilfswerk) has helped in nearly 30,000 such emergencies since 1949.

Today a new situation has arisen as a result of the latest political developments. Whereas in the past an average of 200 refugees a day came asking for asylum in West Berlin, the number suddenly jumped to 700. The political situation being what it is one can readily understand why these refugees are principally young people. The tasks this involves not only for the Council of West Berlin but for the Berlin main office of Hilfswerk have of necessity multiplied. Nevertheless, it is hoped that t is emergency will not prove too much for their resources.

V.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE IDEOLOGY OF THE EAST GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY

(From a correspondent)

The article by Stalin on the science of language which appeared in a German translation last year (J. Stalin, "Der Marxismus und die Fragen der Sprachwissenschaft") is the basis of a new line of Russian communist strategy. This article made two fundamental changes in what had previously been the communist party line toward culture. The first of these was to change the relation of the economic basis of society to its ideological superstructure. Heretofore, the communists have consistently maintained the Marxist view that the mind is dependent upon social existence, that is, upon the position of human beings in the system of production. In this article on the science of language, however, Stalin maintains that language and other expressions of culture can be independent of this economic basis, therefore independent of class. He even goes farther to suggest that language and culture can have an influence on the economic base of society.

Secondly, Stalin, in this article, picks out an aspect of life, namely, language and culture, which is capable of developing directly from its beginning in ancient times to the classless society without requiring revolutionary changes. Here seems to be an area of life which is exempt from the dialectic.

Stalin's article is not intended to change the fundamental structure of communist ideology. It is rather a strategic move to take account of social facts which communism has not succeeded in changing. The most important of these is the continued existence of the Orthodox Church in Russia. The communists have not succeeded in rooting out religion from the life of the people. The Church persists despite all that the communists can do about it. Therefore, it has become necessary to attempt a new policy through which to deal with this persistence. The attempt is now being made to give to religion as a part of culture a place within the communist social system, and at the same time to bring religion under absolute control of the State. Religion, as all other cultural values, is to be allowed its own existence, even when it depends upon a philosophy of life which is different from Marxist dialectical materialism. But it is to be required to support absolutely communist policy and the communist revolution.

There are a number of concrete results of this change of policy in relation to the Church situation in Eastern Germany. The following are two examples:

1. In 1950, Christmas celebrations in public schools and all public institutions were practically forbidden. A systematic attempt was made to substitute the celebration of Stalin's birthday. Many of the non-Christian Christmas traditions were attached to this birthday celebration, and all Christian hymns, scriptural references and the like were eliminated. In 1951, this policy was completely reversed. Teachers, who attempted to follow the instructions of 1950 were informed that the religious heritage of the German people is of great cultural value which must be preserved. Therefore, Christian hymns, Bible reading and prayers are appropriate at Christmas time.

2. The theological faculties of the East Zone had, until 1950, to struggle under strong disadvantages. Theological study was not encouraged, and theological students stood under controls and disadvantages which were especially hard for them, because as Christians they could not go along with the communist ideology and practice. An especially high number of prospective theological students was eliminated by the political examinations required for matriculation. This year, suddenly, the whole picture has changed. There are almost no restrictions on the entrance of students to theological study. (Party functionnaires are actually recruiting candidates for the theological schools.) A year ago this would have been a crime against the State.

This is the frame work in which one is to understand the "twenty-two theses of Christian Realism" of the East German Christian Democratic Union developed at Meissen, Germany, last fall. These theses were developed by a Roman-Catholic theologian primarily. The conference at Meissen was totally ignored by the Evangelical Church. Less than one percent of the Evangelical pastors of the East Zone have identified themselves with the East CDU. The support of this party comes mainly from politicians who maintain a rather loose connection with the Church.

The surprising thing about these theses, however, is the freedom with which they contradict official communist doctrine, as this doctrine is expounded in the schools of the East Zone and written into its textbooks. There is, for example, the statement that the authenticity of biblical records is scientifically better proved than the authenticity of the works of Plato, and that the existence of Jesus Christ is more certain than that of any other person of the ancient world. There is the statement that communism has really Christian roots. And, finally, there is the statement that the Christian must reject both

materialsim and idealism; materialsim because it denies the existence of God, and idealism because it inevitably intends to make the State absolute. A reading of the theses will bring out other examples.

Most significant, however, is the connection of this ideological freedom with absolute political regularity. The last three theses draw the conclusion that the Christian must support absolutely the struggle against capitalist imperialism, (especially today the U.S.A.) and the leadership of the Communist party in building up a people's democracy.

In these theses the Church is being offered an ideology by which she can live in return for absolute acceptance of the State without criticism of its politics. The Church will be allowed to maintain its doctrines. It is only asked to surrender its soul. The actual effect of the Meissen theses so far has not been great. No pastors have been won to it. Their ideology attracts a number of laymen who are not capable of seeing through the reasonable surface which they present. The struggle for the independent witness of the Christian faith to God's justice and mercy in the political realm will therefore take place in the congregation itself. It will require careful education in the Christian faith to show the falsity of such teaching.

EXCERPTS FROM THE MEISSEN THESES ON CHRISTIAN REALISM

(As explained in the foregoing article the Meissen Theses are a programme for action adopted by the Christian Democratic Union of Eastern Germany in October, 1951, in which it is declared that Christianity and Marxist-Leninism are not incompatible. The following excerpts illustrate the line of argument which is used to reach this conclusion).

* * *

"Christian Realism is the way of life by which Christians, following their faith, both in judgment and action, face all problems of life and the world. The content of Christian Realism is determined by the teaching and example of Christ and the example of the most resolute and faithful Christians of all times and all nations. The theoretical basis of the Christian Democratic Union is Christian Realism." (1)

* * *

"The Christian sees man as under the mark of sin, as a creature who is certainly destined for the highest and who is capable of the highest, but who remains tied to the lower and can become guilty of the most fearful degeneration and crime. The Christian sees man involved in a tension between the commission to subject the earth and the peril of being overcome by the burden of the material, by the strength of the very techniques he himself has created. He sees man involved in the field of tension between dying and rising ideas ...." (4)

* * *

"Christ is an historic personality. His life is convincingly shown in the historical sources. The life of Jesus is witnessed to it in three parallel sources which are completely independent the one of the other - the Greco-Roman, the Jewish and the Christian. The New Testament is the most reliable document of complete antiquity that has come down to us. If we compare, for example, Plato,

who died 348 years before Christ, the time between that and the oldest Platonic writings we have, which are of the year 895 A.D., is 1,250 years. For the New Testament the earliest manuscripts are much nearer the original. The oldest versions of the New Testament are the Codex Vaticanus of the year 350, and the Codex Sinaiticus of the year 330 A.D. In the last 20 years further manuscripts have been found which are even older ....." (6)

* * *

.....Jesus warned of the danger of riches, opposed the exploitation of the helpless by the ruling strata. He drove the traders and the money-changers out of the temple with a whip. He warned the ruling strata of his people that their course must end in a terrible judgment of God, in a catastrophe. It was the hatred of this ruling group that nailed Christ to the cross." (10)

* * *

"The great philosophical schools of the 19th century, idealism and materialism, marked themselves off from Christianity. Idealism, since it lost its picture of God in the idea of an absolute spirit, since further it saw men as perfect beings, as the measure of all things, and deified the State as itself a "thing of reason". Materialism, in its decisive form of dialectical materialism, since it declared the idea of God as outdated and marked religion off as an overrated thing which would be ended by changing the economic basis." (17)

* * *

".....Without being an adherent of dialectical materialism the Christian must see the correctness of the basic economic analysis of Marxism-Leninism..."(18)

* * *

"The Christian Democratic Union recognises the social renewal of community as a Christian responsibility. The struggle for a new and better community along the lines of Karl Marx, and the resulting struggle in the Soviet Union, is an effective example. This fact must determine us to go on working politically with the supporters of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of the joint bloc we now have, for the welfare of our people...." (19)

* * *

"The fight for the national interests of his own people is, for the Christian, the fulfilling of the commission that the Creator has laid upon him by the fact that He has suffered him to come into the world among that people and at that time. The securing of the existence of the German people through its unification, and peace, is a duty which is compelled by decisions based on principles....." (21)

* * *

"The fight for peace is the central task of the present moment ....There can be no true Christian who does not fight for peace in the conviction that peace will be secured and strengthened if the peoples will take their fate into their own hands." (22)